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SAVOY CHAPEL.

Frontispiece.

Hakluyt.

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EDITED BY W. BASIL WORSFOLD, M.A.

RICHARD HAKLUYT

BY

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FOREWORD

THIS little book is, I believe, the first separate book which has been written on Hakluyt. It is based largely on the tercentenary address in 1916, which I had the honour to give to the Royal Colonial Institute, and which afterwards appeared in *United Empire* (the Royal Colonial Institute Journal); and on articles which I wrote in the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Geographical Journal* and the *Birmingham Daily Post*. The editors of these periodicals have kindly given me permission to use what I have thus previously written. I wish to thank them, and also the Rev. F. R. Smith, Rector of Wetheringsett, Suffolk, for his kindness in sending me the few facts which can be ascertained as to Hakluyt at Wetheringsett, where he was, for some time, the rector. May I say the limits of space forbid the addition of an index?

DATES CONNECTED WITH HAKLUYT'S LIFE AND WORK

1552-3. Birth of Richard Hakluyt.

1570. Entered Christ Church, Oxford; 1574. B.A.; 1577. M.A.

1575. Sir Thomas Gresham drew up his will, bequeathing a Professorship in Astronomy (including Navigation).

1582. First known letter of Hakluyt to Walsingham.

1582. *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent.* Collected and published by Richard Hakluyt.

1583. Projected voyage with Humphrey Gilbert.

1583-8. Chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, at Paris.

1584. *Discourse of Western Planting.* Written but not published in Hakluyt's lifetime.

1584-7. *De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris Anglerii, Decades octo; illustratæ labore et industria Ricardi Hakluyti.* Edited in 1584 and published at Paris, 1587.

1585. Projected voyage with Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies.

1586. Prebendary of Bristol.

1587. Translation by Hakluyt of *Four Voyages made by certain French Captains into Florida.*

1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
Return of Hakluyt to England from Paris.

1589. First edition of the *Principall Navigations*, etc.

1590. Rector of Wetheringsett cum Blochford, Suffolk.

1594 (about). Married his first wife, Douglas, who died 1597.

1598-1600. Second edition of *Principall Navigations*. (Enlarged from one to three folio volumes.)

1601. Hakluyt's translation from the Portuguese of Galvano's *Tratado*.

1602. Prebendary of Westminster.

1603. Archdeacon of Westminster.

1604. Married his second wife, Frances, at which time he was a chaplain of the Savoy.

1609. *Virginia richly Valued*. A translation by Hakluyt from the Portuguese of Ferdinand de Soto.

1612. Rector of Gedney, Lincolnshire.

1616 (November 23). Death of Hakluyt.

SHORT LIST OF BOOKS

The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, in twelve volumes (containing an essay by Professor Sir Walter Raleigh on English Voyages of the sixteenth century, and on Hakluyt). Glasgow: MacLehose. 1905.

Hakluyt's *Voyages* in eight volumes. Everyman's Library. Dent. 1907.

Diverse Voyages, collected by Hakluyt. With Notes and an Introduction. By J. Winter Jones. Hakluyt Society. 1850.

On the general subject of sea-history—

Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. iv.:

Chapter iv.: "The Literature of the Sea. From the Origins to Hakluyt."

Chapter v.: "Sea-faring and Travel."

Both chapters are by Commander Charles N. Robinson and John Leyland. There is an excellent Bibliography (pp. 453-462).

The Publications of the Hakluyt Society.

This Society has for object to print rare and valuable voyages, travels, naval expeditions, and other geographical records from an early period to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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RICHARD HAKLUYT

CHAPTER I

RICHARD HAKLUYT'S LIFE-TASK

RICHARD HAKLUYT devoted himself absolutely to the self-chosen task of collecting and preparing for publication the fullest possible annals of British seamanship. He undertook this great work in the days of Queen Elizabeth, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, when the marvellous victory had raised England into the glow of security and into the full current of enthusiasm. Homer's *Odyssey* is the outstanding sea-adventure book of antiquity. For us, in modern England, Hakluyt became the unapproachably greatest national prose Homer of the English Odyssey of the multitudinous succession of English adventures made "by Sea or Overland to the Remote and farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compass of these 1600 years." The subject, then, of his long prose epic, or rather vast collection of prose epics, is that of England's heroic sea-stories throughout the centuries of the Christian era. Homer told the story of an individual's life, that of the much travelled hero, Odysseus. The Elizabethan English Hakluyt far and away surpassed

the great Greek romancist in his magnificence of scope through the long reach of history, and so, of course, in the unparalleled multitude of far-travelled English heroes of the sea.

On the very title-page of his book called *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation,* he summarises the contents, and ends the summary: "Whereunto is added the last most renowned English Navigation round about the whole Globe of the Earth." There is revealed the geographical scope: the Englishmen's part in discovering and describing the world. Historically through the centuries, geographically all over the globe, English seafarers came back to bring to England the world-wide view of life. Hakluyt revealed to his country the magnitude of the heritage, in the way of knowledge, and still more in the English tradition of courage and fortitude in face of great enterprises and adventures. Hakluyt is the one who made it all live—all, at any rate, up to his own time. Hakluyt, though not a seaman, is identified with the group of men like Drake and Raleigh, Gilbert and John Davis. He was the greatest of them all as a chronicler of seamen's doings. He knew more about what Englishmen had done in sea-travel than any of the sea-adventurers themselves.

Hakluyt transfused and magnified the travelling pilgrimage of English seafaring, and carried men's thoughts to distant scenes, and familiarised Englishmen with the distant parts of the earth, so that we

may regard him as suggesting (before the foundation of the British Empire beyond the seas) that an Englishman might be, and ought to be, a citizen of the world. Shakespeare was recognising, with full response in the national consciousness, that "All the world's a stage." The physical world, in a largeness of conception impossible before Columbus's discovery of the "New" World, was becoming more and more the material for the drama and literature. Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest*, which exemplifies for all time the intense marvel of this new world-view, due to maritime discovery. Hakluyt brought this world-view with marvellous multiplicity of illustration into prose literature, and as subject-matter for people to think about. But in Hakluyt's mind, and in the mind of his generation, the connexion between thought and action was intimate to a degree, which our later development of analytic psychological methods has obscured. And thus Hakluyt was not only a collector of sea-stories, with a delightful simplicity of graphic narration—but he is also justly credited with being one of the earliest and most convinced of the pioneers who advocated English colonisation beyond the seas.

Hakluyt is, *par excellence*, a believer that "truth is stranger than fiction," and therefore he brings together all that he can of first-hand evidence as the subject-matter of his studies. No labour is too great; no chance of facts may be overlooked; nothing must be left undone in the searching of maunscripts, in

talking with adventurers of every grade, in the enlistment and co-operation of everyone interested, to add new openings of supplementary information as to sea-voyages. Thus, some of his "finds" were marvellous. In 1586 the Earl of Cumberland captured Lopez Vaz, the historian of the West Indies and the South Seas, and with him his manuscript. It does not seem clear whether or not the historian was brought to England, but his important writings arrived in this country, and promptly reached the hands of Hakluyt, who quickly translated them into English. The religious refugee and schoolmaster, Pierre Erondelle, in England, he set to work on translating from the French. Others of his friends and acquaintances he drew into his own enthusiasm, and induced them to translate geographical documents from Latin, Spanish, and other languages. Some of these works he helped forward to separate publication. Others he retained for use in his own vast collection of material, from which he chose selections, which he issued in three folio volumes in 1598, as "*Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation.*" But it must not be supposed that Hakluyt merely set others on work. In his preface to the second edition of his great book he recalls: "What restless nights, what painful days, what heat, what cold I have endured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have travelled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and modern writers I have perused; what

a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, etc., I have redeemed from obscurity and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entered; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what fair opportunities of private gain, preferment, and ease I have neglected!" All these details establish the intentness of Hakluyt upon research. Hakluyt (?1552-1616) was the contemporary of Casaubon (1559-1614) and of Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609). It would not be reasonable to compare the exercise of the fine scholarship in the extension of knowledge in fields already well ploughed with the efforts of a Hakluyt in a new direction. But the spirit in which those old classical scholars worked in no small measure was present in Hakluyt; the spirit of ungrudging consecration to the task of research. For illustration, in the case of Hakluyt, there is the famous instance that, to give as correct particulars as possible in describing the English voyage to the coast of Labrador in 1536, he rode 200 miles to seek out the only living survivor of the voyage, "one Thomas Butts."

It would be possible to exaggerate the value of Hakluyt as a literary man. The fact is, of course, that he did not write a great deal of original and independent subject-matter. Whilst, therefore, he cannot claim a high place as an original writer, it would be a great mistake to minimise his position in the history of literature. He infused an atmosphere into his editing of other people's manuscripts and descriptions which is his own, and which is of that

high vitalising power to which the name of literary genius can hardly be denied.

He undertook his task at a time when abundant material on seafaring subjects was available, though to be found only in many different places. But it required determined energy to collect the material, extant sometimes in manuscripts, sometimes only in seamen's memories. Sometimes, postponement would have meant impossibility for later research. He brought together no fewer than two hundred accounts of journeys, and permeated them with his own sense of marvel, and by his own love of romance selected the stories and stamped his book with that seal of literary power whereby style and matter become almost one, because the personality of the author is thoroughly identified with his subject-matter.

The inspiration which sustained him in all his labours, "making all difficulties seem easy, all pains and industry pleasant, and all expenses of light moment," was simply to preserve all notices of memorable exploits of the English nation, "for the honour and benefit of this Commonweal wherein I live and breathe."

If we accept the dictum that it is "the first step that costs," we shall realise how high a place this pioneer of Empire deserves. In his renown as the collector of British sea-romance, he is unique, although he died 300 years ago. But, great as he is in that work, if he had not written a word he would

rank high in the annals of the British Empire, for he was one of the first to labour in season and out of season for the establishment of colonies, or "plantations" as they were called. He was one of that remarkable group of men who petitioned James I. for a patent for the colonisation of Virginia. This historic document, sanctioning the first British colony beyond the seas, was dated April 10, 1606. On the list of "humble suitors" are the names of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers (or Summers), whose account of the Bermudas is the supposed source for Shakespeare's *Tempest*. But these names are followed by that of "Richard Hakluyt, clerk." He was as much the advocate of colonies for British settlers as were his friends Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh. The three were "fathers" of our colonisation. Thus, Hakluyt is not only the recorder of British sea-history: he is also a maker of British history. He is an Empire-builder. Nor is it only his actual achievements which claim due honour from all who love their country. He affirmed—and all his contemporaries confirm his sincerity—that in the compilation of his monumental work of patriotism "the ardent love of my country devoured all difficulties."

CHAPTER II

SOME MAIN FACTS OF HAKLUYT'S LIFE

CHARLES LAMB says of the old writers that (at any rate) some of them sound sweetly and carry a perfume in the mention of them such as Kit Marlowe, Drayton, and Drummond of Hawthornden. He could not quite have said this of the name of Hakluyt. Nor does it improve matters in this respect, to know, as Professor Sir Walter Raleigh tells us, that the name was pronounced as if spelt, Hack-le-wit. It has been suggested that the name was Dutch, but this seems to have been a guess at derivation, rather due to despair as to the finding out the facts. John Leland in his *Itinerary* mentions a William Hackluit who was with King Henry V. at the battle of Agincourt in 1415. Hakluyt was born in 1552 or 1553. The family lived at Eaton or Eyton, near Leominster. This association of Hakluyt's ancestor with Agincourt is interesting in its suggestion of heroic tradition in the family. The latest suggestion is that Hakluit is a variation of Ap-Llhwyd, and his origin therefore Welsh. But, whatever Hakluyt's ancestral origin may have been, the first known fact about him is that he was a Queen's Scholar at Westminster School. At Westminster School, in the choice of

Queen's Scholars, regard was to be had to their disposition, their knowledge, and their poverty. No one was to be chosen as Scholar if he was likely to become the heir to an estate of ten pounds in yearly value. Richard Hakluyt entered Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1570. Hakluyt may have learned some geography from Honter's *Cosmographia* at school, but if so, it would only be ancient geography.

The beginning of his living interest in the subject has been described by himself in a memorable passage in the Epistle Dedicatory to the first edition of his *Principall Navigations*, 1589:

> "Right Honorable," the Epistle begins (for Hakluyt is dedicating the *Navigations* to Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth), "I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesty's [*i.e.*, Queen Elizabeth's] Scholars at Westminster (that fruitful nursery), it was my hap to visit the chamber of Mr. Richard Hakluyt, my cousin, a gentleman of the Middle Temple."

He saw there "lying open, certain books of cosmography, and a universal map." The elder cousin, finding the young Richard inquisitive, "instructed his ignorance," just in the way to excite his further curiosity, pointing out to him with "his wand" (not unlike a Prospero teaching Miranda) "the known seas, gulfs, bays, straits, capes, rivers, empires, kingdoms," etc., "with declaration also of their special commodities and particular wants, which, by the benefit of traffic and intercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied."

"From the map," adds Hakluyt, "he brought me to the Bible, and turning to Psalm 107, directed me to the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses, where I read, that 'they which go down to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep,' &c. Which words of the prophet, together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and rare delight to my young nature) took in me so deep an impression that I constantly resolved, if ever I was preferred to the University . . . I would, by God's assistance, prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature, the doors whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me."

From Christ Church, Oxford, he took his degree of B.A. in 1574 and M.A. in 1577. During that time his resolution of interesting himself in accounts of sea-voyages was maturing and strengthening.

In accordance with his determination to learn all he could about sea-adventure, he read first what he could find in print or in writing. This involved learning to read foreign languages—viz., Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, for in these languages chroniclers and historians had set down the sea-experiences of natives of their own nations. All these narratives fired the imagination of the young Oxford student. The question has arisen, How far did Hakluyt find himself able to learn about Spain and Spaniards at Oxford? There was no academic recognition of the Spanish language and literature in the University studies, yet there was a group of students in Hakluyt's time interested in Spain, in both the Spanish movements in literature and in maritime discoveries, but still more in subjects of theo-

logical controversy of the Spanish students. Whilst Hakluyt was at Christ Church College, a Spanish religious refugee, Antonio de Corro, was appointed lecturer on divinity in Oxford, and was attached to Hakluyt's own College. Another Spanish Protestant well known in London and at Oxford was Cipriano de Valera. The bond of religious sympathy drew Protestants together more than the differences of their languages separated them. One common experience they had with Hakluyt, namely, they were all students of limited means. The generous Robert Nowell, brother of Dean Alexander Nowell (at one time headmaster of Westminster School), delighted to help "poor scholars." Hakluyt received a gift from Robert Nowell of 10s. (say, in money value to-day, £5 or more) on May 12, 1575, followed on June 4 by a further 2s. 6d. The records show that Corro and Valera similarly received frequent help from the considerate Nowell.

Hakluyt states that, before he left Oxford, "in my public lectures I was the first that produced and showed both the old, imperfectly composed, and the new, lately reformed Maps, Globes, Spheres, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schools, to the singular pleasure, and general contentment of my auditory."

It would be interesting to know exactly how these public lectures in the common schools came to be delivered. For admission to the degree of Mastership in Arts, the old practice had been that the

Bachelor of Arts should himself lecture on academic subjects, as a sort of apprenticeship before becoming a Master. Whether Hakluyt's lectures were thus an Elizabethan survival of the old practice of the Bachelor of Arts lecturing before presentation for the Master's degree, or whether they were given after he had proceeded to his Master's degree, is uncertain. The lectures mark Hakluyt out as a pioneer, by his employment of the practical methods of "demonstration." The new subject of Geography would seem to have arisen out of the old subject of Astronomy, one of the seven Liberal Arts. The connecting-link in the old and the new was the practical progress in navigation. In 1575—that is, two years before Hakluyt was admitted to the M.A.—Sir Thomas Gresham had arranged in his will for lectures in Astronomy, *not* to be read "after the manner of the universities, but let the reader (*i.e.*, the lecturer) cull out such heads of his subject as may best serve the good liking and capacity of the said auditory." The parallel between the terms of Gresham's bequest and Hakluyt's account of his lectures is further confirmed by the requirement made, on the appointment of the Gresham Professor of Astronomy in 1597, that he was to read "the principles of the sphere and the theoriques of the planets, and to explain the use of common instruments for the capacity of mariners," and to apply "these things" to use by reading geography and the art of navigation. If there be any connexion between Gresham's bequeathal of an Astronomy

Chair in 1575 and Hakluyt's lectures, it would be necessary to suggest 1574-5 as the date of Hakluyt's public lectures at Oxford. For, since Hakluyt claims that he was the first to give such lectures, those lectures either must have been the model in Gresham's mind, or else Gresham (unknown to Hakluyt and before him in time) must have been original enough to bequeath his money for lectures on the subject which should be practically useful to merchants, and fitted to the "capacity of mariners."

In 1582 Hakluyt published in London his first book, a collection of accounts of voyages to America.* Hakluyt writes a letter of dedication of his book to the famous Sir Philip Sidney. In it Hakluyt speaks *de plein cœur* of the idea of English expansion beyond the seas:

"I marvel not a little(right worshipful) that since the first discovery of America (which is now full fourscore and ten years) after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniards and Portuguese there, that we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing on such fertile and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed of them. . . . I conceive great hope that the time approacheth and now is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if we will ourselves) both with the Spaniard and the Portugale [*i.e.*, the men of Portugal] in part of America and other regions as yet undiscovered."

Hakluyt was invited to accompany Sir Humphrey Gilbert on that last sad Newfoundland voyage, in

* The title is: *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America and the Ilands adiacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons* (i.e., *Bretons*). Imprinted at London, 1582.

1583. He did not go, but that year saw him associated with Sir Edward Stafford, Royal Ambassador to Paris, as chaplain. A second time he was offered a place in a seafaring expedition in 1585, this time with Sir Francis Drake in a voyage to the West Indies. But for unknown reasons, again, he did not go. It was at Paris that his equanimity was so highly taxed to hear other nations "miraculously extolled" for discoveries and sea-enterprise, and "the English, of all others, ignominiously reported for their sluggish security and continual neglect of like attempts." There also (where he remained from 1583 to 1588), he continued, as ever, industrious in the contemplation of naval affairs. Round about the French King's Court he could converse with about 100 or 120 Portuguese sailors, some of whom saw service in the East Indies. A native of Savoy—whom Hakluyt, in a letter, says he was to meet—had recently been in Japan. Again, he had, in Paris, opportunities for intelligence as to the "further of our Western planting (*i.e.*, colonisation) and discovery." Moreover, he had intercourse, with the French King's Cosmographer, Andrew Thevet, and learned how the French Authorities intended to "send out certain ships to inhabit some place of the North part of America." Hakluyt tells this at once to Sir Francis Walsingham, eager to arouse the English Secretary of State to English competition. It is in this letter of January 7, 1584, full of naval glow, and in the

midst of the excitement of high politics, that he signs himself for the first time by the descriptive signature, so characteristically modest in one attached to an embassy: *Richard Hakluyt, Preacher.*

Whilst in Paris he edited the book on the New World (*de Orbe Novo*), in the original Latin, of Peter Martyr Anglerius, an Italian by birth, who had gone to Spain, and had been included in the Council of the Indies, in the government of Spanish Colonies. Peter Martyr told the story of Columbus and issued his book at Alcalá in 1516. A portion of the book had already been translated into English by Richard Eden. The year after Hakluyt had edited Peter Martyr's book was the year of the Spanish Armada. He returned from Paris to London. In the following year, 1589, he published the first edition of his great work, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation.*

This was his great central work, to which his other writings are tributaries. He was not satisfied with it, in its first form, and after 1589 continued to gather together all material that bore on his subject, and the second edition was issued in three volumes, 1598-1600.

He was a chaplain in the British Embassy at Paris from 1583 to 1588. Whilst in this position, he wrote, in 1584, his *Discourse of Western Planting* —a thorough-going investigation into the principles of colonisation. But, unfortunately, the book remained in manuscript all the lifetime of Hakluyt, and

indeed till 1877, when it was published for the first time.* It was read in manuscript, as frequently happened in the Elizabethan age, by the friends of the author. It was presented in manuscript to Queen Elizabeth. But there was no source of income for literary work of this kind. Possibly, such writings helped the reputation of Hakluyt so far as to make him favourably considered for clerical advancement, for whilst at Paris, in 1586, on the Queen's mandate, he was preferred to a prebend in Bristol Cathedral in the stall 300 years afterwards allotted to the late Canon Ainger. In 1590 Hakluyt became Rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk. In 1602 he was made Prebendary, and in 1603 Archdeacon of Westminster; and he was also Chaplain of the Savoy by 1604. In 1612 he became Rector of Gedney in Lincolnshire. He died November 23, 1616. His connexion with Bristol is chiefly noteworthy for his encouragement of Martin Pring to undertake the exploration of "Northern Virginia"—*i.e.*, what was afterwards called New England—in 1603. Pring may be associated with the story of the Pilgrim Fathers, as remaining for two months by the harbour which afterwards was named Plymouth, where the Fathers landed seventeen years later. Pring wrote his account of his survey of the coast near Plymouth in Purchas's *Pilgrims*. He says:

"Upon many probable and reasonable inducements, used unto sundry of the chiefest Merchants of Bristoll, by Master

* See p. 93, *infra*.

Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of St. Augustine's, the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after divers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the further discoverie of the North part of Virginia. And first they sent the said Master Hakluyt accompanied with one Master John Angell and Master Robert Saltern (which had been in the said Discoverie the year before with Captain Bartholomew Gosnold) to obtain permission of Sir Walter Raleigh (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from Queen Elizabeth) to intermeddle and deal in that action. Leave being obtained of him under his hand and seal, they speedily prepared a small ship called the Speed-well in burthern about fifty tons, manning the same with some thirty men and boys, wherein went for Master and chief Commander in the voyage, Martin Pring."

Pring was twenty-three years of age.

This *Speedwell* was accompanied by a barque called the *Discoverer*, of 26 tons, with thirteen men and a boy. Such was the equipment of the Elizabethan expedition. At the Bristol Central Library is preserved the Bible of Martin Pring. It is in Spanish—an interesting token of the relation between the two great early navigating countries.

Hakluyt was thus a negotiator and go-between among the men of thought and of affairs, who had to tell of foreign movements.

He is the first literary man to enter into full sympathy with the manual worker, if he takes the form of the working-man-of-the-sea. But probably no man of the age was more in touch with every class of the community. He had ready access to men like Burghley, Walsingham, Lord Howard of Effingham, Philip Sidney, and Walter Raleigh. Abroad, he was

probably as well known in the navigating world as to-day an international financier is in the commercial world. Wherever, in the Elizabethan era, we come in contact with what we now term imperial questions, we find Hakluyt associated with the movement. He is not merely an expert, but he is the contemporary encyclopædia of all the experts put together.

As a publicist, on his return from Paris in 1588, Hakluyt was one, with certain merchants and gentlemen, appointed by Sir Walter Raleigh, as a corporation of counsellors, assistants, and adventurers, to carry out the objects of Raleigh's patent from Queen Elizabeth (dated March 25, 1584) authorising him to "discover, search, and find out such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs, etc., shall seem good." There is the first document implicitly initiating British colonisation. Later, Hakluyt was the chief promoter of a petition to King James I. for a "patent for the colonisation of Virginia." On April 10, 1606 (as already stated), a charter was granted, by which two companies were formed, afterwards named the London Company and the Plymouth Company. The London Company made explicitly the first authorised settlement in America. The chief patentees or "adventurers" of this London Company were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Edward Maria Wingfield—and, let us always remember, Richard Hakluyt.

Pioneer as he thus was of British Western colonisation, he is also not unassociated with the beginnings of the far-away Eastern Indian Empire. In the Minutes of the East India Company are the entries: February, 1601. £10 paid to Richard Hakluyt "for his travails taken in instructions and advices touching the preparing of the voyage to the East Indies." And, again: 30s. "for three maps by him provided and delivered to the Company."

Such services to his country are not exaggerated in the tablet which has been placed in Bristol Cathedral:

RICHARD HAKLUYT

BORN 1552.
DIED, 1616.

To the Glory of God and the pious memory of
Richard Hakluyt. A.M., Queen's Scholar of
Westminster School; Student of Christ Church, Oxford;
sometime Archdeacon of Westminster, and for
thirty years Prebendary of this Cathedral Church.
MDLXXXVI—MDCXVI (1586-1616),
who, by his historical Collections, earned the
Gratitude both of his Country, and of this ancient Port.
His studious Imagination
discovered new Paths for geographical Science
and his patriotic Labours rescued from Oblivion
not a few of those who went down to the Sea in Ships,
to be harbingers of Empire, descrying new Lands
and finding larger Room for their Race.

"The ardent Love of my Country devoured all Difficulties."

CHAPTER III

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HAKLUYT'S SEA-CHRONICLES

In history there are periods when strong individuals and strong races have powers and opportunities which they scarcely know how to manipulate. They stand at the turning-point of their destiny.

The problem of the sixteenth century for the great Atlantic sea-board nations of Europe, and pre-eminently for the island-nation of England, was how to apply and use the great maritime discoveries of their age in the New World. What constructive line of policy was to be developed so as to bear upon the destiny of these new-found lands? The solution of this problem was vital for the new lands and of no little significance for the communities of the discovering nations.

Modern history substantially begins with the discovery of the New World. The pioneer-nation was Spain. It was under the auspices of Spain that Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Magellan sailed on their famous voyages. But in 1492 Columbus sailed westward, enabled to equip an expedition by the good-will of Queen Isabella, who parted with jewellery to supply the means, a deed enthusiastically appreciated by Richard Hakluyt. Amerigo Vespucci

reached South America in 1497, though Columbus had discovered the shores in the previous year. Vespucci is of special interest to English readers, since Sir Thomas More makes a member of Vespucci's expedition the chronicler of the political and social arrangements of *Utopia*. Hythloday, a name which means "a teller of idle tales," was an imaginary personage, but More gives him that *vraisemblance* which shows that the people of the earliest years of the sixteenth century were fascinated by the accounts of sea-voyages, and that English people honoured such foreign seamen as Amerigo.

Men like Columbus, Vespucci, and Magellan may serve as examples of discoverers, because familiar, first, to Spaniards, and afterwards to English people. The later Spaniards, Cabral, Ponce de Leon, Balboa, de Soto, became known in due course. For the Spaniards not only produced a succession of discoverers, but they also followed them up with a series of historiographers, or chroniclers. The first great chronicle of Spanish sea-discoverers was that of Peter Martyr, an Italian brought over to the brilliant Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. Peter Martyr's *Decades* was first published at Alcalá, in 1516, and of this Hakluyt himself, we have seen, edited an edition in the original Latin, in 1587 at Paris, and Hakluyt's death took place in 1616. Within this century, 1516-1616, was developed the great art, first in Spain, then in England, of narrating the heroic adventures of the seamen.

The sea-histories of men like Peter Martyr, in Spain, and Richard Hakluyt, in England, must be recognised as work of discovery not altogether unlike that of the sailors of whom they write. The whole of future generations is largely dependent on their efforts for the material in forming a sound estimate of what has been done. The later accounts were made possible by the absorption and the self-effacement, and objective fascination in facts, of the pioneer chroniclers.

Sea-chronicles and sea-literature brought heroic actions into the resting-place of permanent history. It is said that Leif the Norseman explored Labrador from Iceland *c.* 1001 A.D. But the absence of chronicles of the concrete details throws the discovery into the twilight of tradition, and it has been suggested that but for the printed histories of Columbus and his followers, which brought into the range of interest everything connected with the sea, the very tradition of Leif might have been lost. We can, therefore, hardly overestimate the value of sea-chronicles following upon sea-discoveries. The story of Columbus might have been as shadowy as that of Leif.

Curiously enough, the effect of the discovery of the New World, coinciding with the Renaissance in England, led first to an inward, rather than an outward, discovery. England engaged, first, mainly in an exploration and a discovery of herself. John Leland, Henry VIII.'s historiographer, contemporaneous with

Peter Martyr in Spain, and later, William Camden, friend of Hakluyt, were the leaders of the discovery of England to itself. They scoured, each in his generation, the whole country, and the combined effect was the surveying and mapping out of the high roads, the villages, the towns; the collection of information regarding the antiquities of England, the copying and registration of inscriptions, and the creation of a warm patriotic interest, historically and geographically, in every nook and corner of the country. Exact map-drawers and engravers, like Norden, Saxton, and Speed, helped to make the history and geography live graphically. The methods of the Renaissance, which had made the Greek and Roman past live again, were applied to the bringing into literature for the first time the resources, the traditions, and the glory of England. Similarly, in literature, as Mr. Charles Whibley remarks, the translators of the classics into the vernacular "pursued their craft in the spirit of bold adventure." This zest for discovery in the classic fields of Greece and Rome permeated to the study of the whole English nation in the English language.

Chronicles of the English past revealed the antiquity of British prowess and activity, and evoked the spirit of nationality. As one writer said: "A part of the Elysian Fields is to be found in Britain." So, too, translations brought the same satisfaction. The historical accounts of Flanders, in Froissart, made the English exploits of Crécy and Agincourt

appear as glorious as Roman and Greek battlefields, and a translation of Froissart into English was as welcome as that of Cæsar or Livy. So, in 1555, when Richard Eden published a translation of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, the modern writers began to spread the conviction of greatness of the new race of seamen which Rome and Greece could not rival, if, indeed, approach.

England is slow to move, but when she moves she moves on her own lines, and transfuses the very material she borrows into terms which express not her exemplars, but herself. All these sources, of the classics, of foreign Court histories, of foreign historiographers, and of Peter Martyr in Spain, all were turned into suggestions for works of literature with a patriotic absorption in England's own records.

In the poets, this patriotic absorption, as was fitting, was even more prominent. Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, and Warner, in his *Albion*, made every county, and part of a county, cry out for joy that it was English. Shakespeare spoke for England as a whole:

> "This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall."

Hakluyt had taken up the same old-world metaphor. Navigation of the sea he describes as "the very walls of this our island."

Here is the point of contact between Shakespeare and Hakluyt. Both are in love with their country and all that symbolises English nationality. In the

second edition (1598) of the chief work of Hakluyt, his *Navigations*, there is a map, which, not unreasonably, is believed to be the prototype of the description of Shakespeare in the *Twelfth Night*, Act III., Scene 2: "He did smile his face into more lines than is in the new map, with the augmentations of the Indies." But far more significant than such a connexion (if, as seems proved, Hakluyt's map is referred to) is the creation of the character of Caliban—the being with such sharp sense-perception, so responsive to "sounds and sweet airs," to nature-observation of water-springs, and birds and animals—and yet a "born devil"—a study in character which, whilst not inappreciative of native races, raises all the vexed questions of "Nature and nurture," of education and the influence of civilised races on less civilised or uncivilised races, which the intervening distance of time has only emphasised. Such interests are common ground to Shakespeare and Hakluyt.

Richard Hakluyt, then, entered into the heritage of an England which had discovered itself, and gathered round itself its *pièces justificatives* for its self-conscious joy and glory in its individuality, in its splendid historical antiquity, and in its sense of power to expand, and to enter into the undertaking of great adventure, and especially of national adventure. In short, there had been a long preparative period in England, in which the country had learned self-reliance, self-confidence; and when we add the religious background of the returned exiles from

Switzerland, we recognise there was a religious consciousness transformed by the Puritans into the Elizabethan age, which, in the best minds of that period, in every department of thought and action, was deepening into a sense of national responsibility.

It was in these conditions that Richard Hakluyt achieved for English sea-history, for the glory of England, what had been done by other writers in national, historical, and military history, in British antiquities, in poetry—in every direction at home. He devoted the absorbed passion of his life to the deeds of English seamen abroad—upon the seas and beyond the seas.

Eden is the forerunner of Hakluyt as a translator of sea-histories. But between Eden's translation of Peter Martyr in 1555 and Hakluyt's book in 1589, some of the greatest of the English sea-kings appeared. William Hawkins was a little earlier, and so, too, Sir Hugh Willoughby's last voyage took place in 1553-4. But in this interval of thirty years occurred the travels of Antony Jenkinson, John Hawkins, Martin Frobisher, Francis Drake, John Davis, Thomas Candish—to say nothing of Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh. There was a great deal of general interest in the voyages, but the actual historical documents, letters, journals, narratives, etc., required to be collected. This was Hakluyt's great work—to register these maritime achievements, and to fix them in the public mind. These records bit into the intelligence and sympathies of the master

minds of the ages contemporary with and following upon Hakluyt. They became part of the English literary consciousness.

Hakluyt, therefore, is the man who gave the answer to the problem of the sixteenth century: What use was to be made of the great maritime discoveries? He rescued the subject from the merely temporary, sensational, and casual phase of public interest. The great adventurers, Hawkins, Frobisher, Drake, and the others, revelled in their expeditions, as the joy of fuller life, and except as undertakings (often of piracy, of buccaneering, and of persistent devilry) to annoy the King of Spain and his people, we may perhaps say they were not clearly aware of, or anxious about, the significance of their exploits for the future. The man of clearest insight into the *use* to which the English discoveries and adventures could be put for the good of England, was a man who had never been on a sea-voyage beyond the strait of the English Channel, a Prebendary of Bristol, Archdeacon of Westminster, "Richard Hakluyt, Preacher," as he ordinarily signed himself.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY-TEACHING

As early as 1511 Erasmus refers to the value of geography-teaching. He notes that children may be disinclined to the study of such subjects as grammar or rhetoric, and yet have an aptitude for music, arithmetic, *or* geography. The geography, however, which he contemplates is ancient geography, the geography which throws light upon the topography of classical authors. Hence the list of geographers whose writings he recommends consists entirely of ancient writers: Pliny, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, and Strabo.

Erasmus's interest is not in physical geography as such. He wishes the student to observe carefully natural phenomena, so that he may have a storage of images on which to draw, for metaphors and similes to be used in his spoken or written compositions. Geography as well as history, along with music, agriculture, architecture, etc., are to be regarded as occasional and incidental studies, from which telling illustrations may be gathered to adorn and intensify the persuasive eloquence of the student's Latin exercises. Still, the training of

observation had a high value for Erasmus, as coming from personal effort.

In 1531, two writers published works in which the claims of geography-teaching were asserted—viz., Juan Luis Vives, in his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, and Sir Thomas Elyot in the *Boke named the Governour*. The suggestions of Vives were for academic, school and college teaching of geography; those of Elyot were intended for the private tutors of young nobles and gentlemen. Vives's book was an essentially educational work; that of Elyot was rather a political and ethical work, with educational applications. Vives was a Spaniard by birth, but a Spaniard who had resided for part of each year between 1523 and 1528 at the Court of Queen Catharine of Aragon in England. His advocacy of geography is summarised in the words:

"The pupil should read Strabo, who wrote a description of the world and gave its history at the same time. Let him also ponder over the maps of Ptolemy, if he can get a corrected edition. *Let him add the discoveries of our* [*i.e.*, Spanish] *countrymen on the borders of the East and the West.*"

In the same year, Sir Thomas Elyot, in the *Boke named the Governour*, made an eloquent appeal to young noblemen to study geography; and like Vives, he has reached forward to the idea of the study of mathematical, physical and modern geography as well as the ancient geography. Like Vives, Elyot recognises the value for education of geographical maps. "In the learning of geometry,

astronomy, and cosmography, I dare affirm a man shall more profit, in one week, by figures and charts, well and perfectly made, than he shall by the only reading or hearing the rules of that science by the space of half a year at the least; wherefore the late writers deserve no small commendation which added to the authors of those sciences apt and proper figures." Hallam states that Arnold Buckinck (associated with the pioneer printer at Rome, Sweynheim) was the first to apply copper-plate engraving to maps for the publishers in 1478 in an edition of Ptolemy's Geography. Apparently Elyot is the first (though more than half a century later) to draw attention, in England, to the educational aspect of these maps supplied to Ptolemy, and Vives is the first to advocate in addition the study of geography based on the discoveries of the New World, following on Columbus's journey in 1492.

The first mention of practical application of geography to school purposes is to be found, apparently, in connexion with a Bristol family of merchants named Thorne, who claim descent from a long line of adventurers, crusaders, merchants, and voyagers, back, it is said, to the time of William the Conqueror, with whom a member of the family came from Normandy. Hakluyt gives an account of Robert Thorne advising King Henry VIII. in 1527 to arrange expeditions in the Northern parts of America. Thorne had dwelt long in Spain at Sevilla, and was thus specially qualified to advise. In the previous year,

1526, John Sebastian Cabot left Sevilla to spend five years in exploring La Plata. Thorne (born in 1492, the year of Columbus's discovery of America) provided 1,400 ducats "principally for that two English friends of mine who are somewhat learned in Cosmography shall go on some ships to bring me certain relation of the country, and to be expert in the navigation of those Seas." Here we see the beginning of a form of direct individual support of geographical research, no doubt stimulated by what Thorne had seen at the Casa de Contratación at Sevilla. Hakluyt also includes a document written by Thorne, in Sevilla, for Dr. Ley (or Leigh), King Henry VIII.'s Ambassador, detailing Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, and describing "the way to the Moluccas by the North." Thorne is an interesting illustration of the direct relation between the old voyagers and education. On his return to England, in his will, amongst other bequests, he left money to be applied in founding a scholarship at the Merchant Taylors' School in London (for he was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company), and a sum, considerable for those days, for the establishment of a Grammar School at Bristol. Nicholas Thorne, his brother, added to the endowment of the Bristol Grammar School in 1536. Though he was not, like his brother Robert, a traveller and resident abroad, he was a sharer in the trading enterprises to the New World, "that led in due time to the foundation of our great colonial empire."

On his death in 1546, he left £36 13s. 4d. to the Bristol Grammar School, to include the formation of a library in which were to be placed, his "books meet for the said library," his astrolabe ("in the keeping of John Sprint, apothecary") with charts and maps and such instruments in "my house belonging to the science of astronomy or cosmography." Mr. Leach tells us that these were afterwards "dispersed at a sale and acquired by a porter for a few shillings!" Nicholas Thorne ought to rank as the pioneer in the suggestion of practical geography-teaching in English schools, with provision for apparatus, and the beginning of laboratory practice.

The enormous ingathering of geographical detail in maritime enterprise since Columbus's first journey across the Atlantic in 1492 up to 1570, the date of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the atlas of Abraham Ortelius, published at Antwerp, may be inferred from his list of about 150 geographical treatises consulted for that work, most of them subsequent to 1560. This was the first great general atlas of modern Europe, and "the basis of all collections of maps since formed."

But the teaching of modern practical geography, especially in its relations with navigation, had been introduced long before the "new reformed maps." The first country to teach modern geography was Spain. The Casa de Contratación, or Exchange, a sort of India House, had been established at

Sevilla as far back as 1503, and early began to manage all Spanish overseas business. Sevilla was the only port for the Atlantic. The Casa kept all geographical affairs in its hands. It granted seamen's licences, equipped vessels, selected captains, decided destinations, and gave instructions as to loading and sailing. It was the repository for the treasures as they came from the Indies. It was the Casa at Sevilla which was entrusted with the fitting out of the ships of the Great Armada prepared against England. It was at once "a Board of Trade, a commercial court, and a clearing-house for the American traffic." Of officers, there were a pilot-major, to examine and license the pilots; high-sheriff; four judges; an inspector-general; and even a correo-mayor, or, what might be called, postmaster-general. Logically enough, if there was to be examination of seamen, the authorities found that there must also be maritime training. In 1552 was established by the Casa a professorship of cosmography and navigation, and all candidates for the office of pilot were required to take the course of study provided in these subjects. All pilots and shipmasters were required "to keep an accurate daily record of their course, of the weather, of the ocean currents, as well as a precise description of all shores coasted." All these records were to be deposited with the pilot-major in the Casa de Contratación at Sevilla.

"The historical significance," it has been said of

the Sevilla Casa, "lay in the fact that for a long time it held the key to the New World." In 1524 another body was brought into existence, to assume and maintain control of the turning of the key. This was the Council of the Indies, a corporation by no means to be confused with the Casa de Contratación. It had as its head, nominally, Juan de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Sevilla. The president was the King, and the Council were his advisers.

The Council of the Indies directed the whole of the colonial affairs of Spain. The Casa de Contratación was the skilled body to be used in the practical carrying out of the maritime affairs. The Council, however, had its historiographer, a cosmographer, and a mathematician, from 1542 onwards. All office-holders were to be "of noble birth, pure lineage, and God-fearing." (The later autocratical, avaricious, and self-interested abuses that developed in connexion with the Council of the Indies, with the King at the head, were eventually the real causes of the downfall of Spanish and colonial policy.)

After instruction from distinguished Spaniards, and examinations passed, the Spanish mariners were admitted with as great solemnity and giving of presents to the ancient masters and pilots, and the readers and examiners before they take charge of vessels for the Indies, "as are the great doctors in the universities, or our [English] great serjeants-at-the-law when they proceed to their degrees." Degrees

in an Honours School in Geography are therefore, substantially, no new thing.

Hakluyt had appealed to Sir Francis Drake, the intrepid circumnavigator of the globe, to establish a similar lectureship to that at Sevilla, for English seamen, either at "Ratcliffe" or elsewhere. Drake at once offered £20 a year, and Hakluyt had sought out and found a "learned man" who was qualified and willing to undertake the post. But a suitable salary and the provision of the necessary instruments and maps would have required at least £40 a year. However, no other "noble man" could be found to supply the balance of the minimum amount to start this project suggested by Hakluyt, though so strongly supported by Drake, and the scheme fell through. In 1598 the Epistle Dedicatory of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* was addressed to Lord Charles Howard, the heroic Admiral against the Armada. The persistent Hakluyt urged Howard, as he had urged Drake, to have an English official reader, together with examiners for seamen, that sea-adventurers might undergo tested theoretical and practical training.

"The readers at the Casa de Contratación at Sevilla have not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish mariners by word of mouth, but also have published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning marine causes, for the direction and encouragement of posterity. The learned works of three of which readers—viz., of Alonso de Chavez, of Hieronymo de Chavez, and of Rodrigo Zamorano—came long ago very happily to my hands, together with [the account of] the

strait and severe examining of all such masters as desire to take charge for the West Indies. Which when I first read and duly considered . . . I greatly wished that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with us."

Again, in 1584, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Hakluyt still is urging the same cause:

"If, by your honour's instigation, her Majesty might be induced to erect such a lecture in Oxford [like one established by Peter Ramus in France, in mathematics] and the like for the art of navigation might by some other means be established at London, allowing each of them fifty pounds yearly, in my simple judgment it would be the best hundred pounds bestowed these five hundred years in England."

Turning to England, Hakluyt published his *Voyages* (1589). Sir Humphrey Gilbert (who died in 1583) drew up a plan for a new educational institution to be called Queen Elizabeth's Academy, "for the education of Her Majesty's wards, and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen." This remained in manuscript till published by Dr. F. J. Furnivall in 1869. This document is supposed to have been written *c.* 1572. In it Gilbert suggests the appointment of a mathematician to teach cosmography and astronomy with navigation with a salary of £66 13s. 4d. (say £600 of our own money), and "there is to be one to teach how to draw maps, sea-charts, and perspective" at £40 a year.

This proposal of Gilbert's possibly takes precedence in time to Hakluyt's lecturing at Oxford. With regard to Sir Thomas Gresham, who left provision in his will, drawn up in 1575, for the teaching

of astronomy with a view to its application to navigation, it is said that in 1572, the year after Gresham had built the Bourse, or Royal Exchange of London, the Archbishop of Sevilla, Christobal de Sandoval y Rojar, used this precedent as a ground for a petition to Philip II. to follow Gresham's example and erect a special new building for the Casa de Contratación, or chamber of commerce, at Sevilla. This project took many years to carry out. The Casa was opened in 1598 in La Lonja, and on the upper floor was placed El Archivo de las Indias. It is pleasant to know that if Hakluyt gained so much from Spain, the Casa de Contratación itself at Sevilla was lodged in La Lonja, thought to be built after the example set by the English Gresham, though, in the strict record of origins, it must be allowed that Gresham's London Bourse itself was suggested by, and modelled on, the Bourse at Antwerp.

CHAPTER V

LESSONS FROM SPAIN IN SEA-HISTORY

OF all the great names of the Elizabethan era, probably no European reputation was bruited farther over the ocean and more generally recognised than that of Richard Hakluyt. No writer in England had more points of contact with Spain; certainly, no one had used so much literary material having its origin in Spain, on the Spanish main, or in Spanish settlements across the seas. Hakluyt's collection consists of more than two hundred descriptions of voyages, and of these accounts about fifty are derived from Spanish sources. Hakluyt is one of the first of Englishmen to devise a life-task for himself in concentrated literary work and to qualify himself for it by an international outlook for materials.

After the Spanish Armada, in England, it was usual to ignore, belittle, or vituperate Spanish actions on the seas or elsewhere. The length to which the written attack could be carried, in this case, even before the Spanish Armada, is seen in such a passage as the following:

"I purpose to declare a part of the natural disposition of Spaniards . . . against the whole realm [of England]. . . .

My friends put me to learn their language and compelled me to live amongst them, because I might know perfectly whether their nature were so vile, as men reported or not. And I assure you that the *vilest report that ever I heard Englishmen speak of the worst of all Spaniards is nothing to the vileness which remaineth amongst the best of that nation*, except the King's Majesty."

Hakluyt was of a different mould. He wanted to record the heroic, and was duly impressed when he saw traces of Spanish appreciation of English courage. The devotion of the Spanish seamen to their adventurous life, after due preparation, produced in them an appreciation for acts of courage and endurance that transcended national limits. Spain at times could and did honour English pluck. Sevilla, a city of startling contradictions, cruelly harassed Protestants, and especially any Englishman it could lay hands on, yet its Casa de Contratación felt an enthusiasm for fine seamanship, when shown even by an Englishman. Hakluyt tells one story worth recalling:

"Master Steven Borroughs [or Borough], now one of the four masters of the Queen's Navy, told me that, newly after his return from the discovery of Moscow by the North, in Queen Mary's days the Spaniards, having intelligence that he was master in that discovery, took him into their Contratación House [at Sevilla], at their making and admitting of masters and pilots, giving him great honour, and presented him with a pair of perfumed gloves, worth five or six ducats."

The literary men of the two hostile countries were, also, not without their amenities. Probably few Englishmen to-day would be prepared to praise the

Elizabethan Richard Willes quite as highly as did his Spanish contemporary Michael Vanegas:

> "Anglia te tellus pulcherrima iactat alumnum,
> Ingeniique alis tu super astra volas."

However much Sir Walter Raleigh and Richard Hakluyt said against Spain, they knew that Spanish sea-enterprise was not without high heroic qualities. Sir Walter Raleigh, full, as he was, of plans to cripple Spain, could write this message:

"We seldom or never find that any nation hath endured so many adventures and miseries as the Spaniards have done in their Indian discoveries. Yet persisting in their enterprises with invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces as bury the remembrances of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwrecks, overthrows, mutinies, heat, cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases both old and new, together with extreme poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoveries, at one time or another, hath encountered. . . . Surely they are worthily rewarded with their treasures and paradises, which they enjoy, and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtue in others, which, perhaps, will not be found."

This noble tribute to the Spanish occurs in Raleigh's *History of the World* in 1614, well after the Spanish Armada of 1588, at a time when denunciatory language against the Spaniards was almost regarded in England as a religious privilege. The Elizabethan Protestants had gone through the inferno of the Smithfield fires, lighted by Queen Mary, and her Spanish husband, Philip II.—fires smouldering for ages afterwards in the background

of the imagination of the English people. The reaction of the defeat of the Spanish Armada took away fear, but it ingrained the desire of the crushing of Spain as a God-allotted task for the Protestants to accomplish, if the opportunity should present itself, or could be forced. Hatred for hatred was fully returned. Lope de Vega, the Spanish poet, wrote his *Dragontea*, identifying Sir Francis Drake with Satan. But, more drastic than any writings, the Spanish Inquisition made short work of English people caught in their toils. The struggle between Roman Catholics and Protestants became one of life and death.

Hakluyt, therefore, as a Protestant clergyman, could not be expected to be unduly lavish of praise for Spain. Yet he could write:

"I cannot deny that both the Spaniards and the Portugals in their East and West Indian Navigations have endured many tempests, dangers and shipwrecks; yet this dare I boldly affirm, first, that a great number of them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty minds with that reputation and wealth which made all perils and misadventures seem tolerable unto them; and secondly that *their first attempts* (which in this comparison I do only stand upon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous than ours to the North-East. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it never barred with ice, mist or darkness, but was at all seasons of the year open and navigable; yea, and that for the most part, with fortunate and fit gales of wind."

Moreover, Hakluyt can write of "the good Queen Isabella of Aragon." This Protestant preacher can believe that God had showered upon her, Papist

though she was, "the bottomless treasures of His riches and the abundance of His hidden blessings, because, on extreme necessity, she had laid down her own jewels to gage, for money to furnish out Columbus for the first discovery of the West Indies." With persistent emphasis, Hakluyt cites the example of the Spanish seamen and of the Spanish Queen Isabella to spur on the English Queen Elizabeth to provide encouragement and provision to bring about English discoveries, and to plant new colonies. "Spain and Portugal have established bishoprics and colleges to train up the youth of the heathens, and in that deed alone," says Hakluyt, "they might justly have more rejoiced than in the conquest of the whole country, or in any other things whatsoever. If the Spaniards in fifty years have established over 200 houses of religion, what might not our true and sincere religion have done?" Hakluyt was on one occasion put to shame when he was asked by a Roman Catholic to say how many converts of overseas heathen had been made by Protestants—"In very truth I was not able to name *one* infidel by them converted."

To stir feeling for colonising by England, Hakluyt is content to say:

"When heard we almost of one thief among them? [*i.e.*, Spaniards]. The reason is, that by their new discoveries, they have so many honest ways to set them on work, as they rather want men than means to employ them. But we, for all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharp execution of the same in punishing idle and lazy persons, for want of

sufficient occasion of honest employment, cannot deliver our commonwealth from multitudes of loiterers and idle vagabonds."

He felt that the whole British seafaring movement could only justify itself if the Anglican Church at least proved itself as great a knight-errant in redressing social evils as the Spanish Church.

Hakluyt is permeated with the Crusader's spirit. He is an Anglican Crusader, concentrated on the problems connected with the New World. But this Crusader's spirit had had a long continuous development in Spain. It was the Spanish Crusader's spirit which urged forward Columbus, Italian though he was, and the Spanish seamen who succeeded him. Hakluyt absorbs it, turning it into the current of British enterprise, neither knowing nor caring whence he derived it.

Spain, or, at least, pioneer leaders of Spain, rejoiced in a religious as well as a military Crusade. In the fifty years preceding Hakluyt's interest in discoveries Spanish seamen had kept this object fully in view. Intelligent educational and religious propaganda were by no means new to Spain. Ramon Lull (1235-1315), the mediævalist philosopher, born in the island of Majorca, one of the greatest of Catalonian heroes, had gone forth, three centuries before Hakluyt, to meet the Mussulmans of North Africa on their own ground, to learn their language, to argue with them on the basis of their own religious documents—in other words, to take up the attitude of sympathetic understanding of

their point of view. Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century attempted to transfer the methods of Ramon Lull to the treatment of the native populations on the other side of the Western Ocean. In face of the vast significance of this vision of transference of spiritual blessings across the ocean, evident in Spanish aspirations, Hakluyt cries for unity in the Anglican Church. All its ministers need to engage in the single-minded effort of "setting themselves on work in reducing savages to the chief principles of our faith." The clergy at home must drop their petty discussions, and "be contented with the truth in religion already established by authority." Hakluyt's vision stretches forth to *new* worlds overseas for the Anglican Church to permeate, new worlds in which to build up a British Imperial Church, which will be an increasing power against Spain as a spiritual foe.

Christopher Columbus explicitly declared his great object in his voyages to be an extension of the Christian faith. "The people of the West Indian Island," he states after his voyage, "fully understand each other's speech, and thus would more readily be converted to Christianity." In 1524, Fray Martin, of Valencia, a Catalonian of the original name of Juan Martin Buell, with his twelve brethren, was received in Mexico by Cortés, the proud Spanish conqueror humiliating himself before the friar-educators, to the wonder of the natives. Schools for natives were then established, in which reading, writing, music, and Christian doctrine,

and also the mechanical arts were taught. Children were fed, clothed, taught, and Fray Martin's schools were thus the first boarding-schools and the first manual-labour schools in America. Mexico received the first nuns coming into America in 1525. Probably the first American school, into the curriculum of which the classics of Rome were introduced, was in Brazil, to which the Portuguese Jesuit, José de Anchieta, voyaged in 1553. He stayed there forty-four years, earning the title of the "Apostle of Brazil." Anchieta was one of the pioneers in realising the necessity of learning the language of the natives, of which he collected the materials for a grammar, a text-book and a dictionary. He also wrote vernacular canticles. To inculcate religion he directed the production of dramatic representations in the open air at Bahia. But the grand merit of Anchieta was his attitude of sympathetic knowledge of the natives on their own ground and from their own standpoint, just as had been achieved by Lull in North Africa. He endeared himself to the natives, and his genius of wide sympathies is typified by the tradition that birds of the air came to him at his call, and that even beasts of the forest allowed him to caress them.

The introduction of European education into America thus stands to the credit of the Spaniards. The doctrines of political toleration and freedom were asserted determinedly and fearlessly by that great protector of the Indians, Las Casas. Las Casas claimed that Indians were free by the law of

nature, that they had a right to the protection of the Spanish crown, and "should be declared free without exception and for ever." As Prescott says: "Las Casas was the uncompromising friend of freedom." Whatever may be said of the cruelty and tyranny of the Spanish Government in America, these splendid efforts of Fray Martin, of Anchieta, and of Las Casas must be recognised. They were not only noble upholders of the Christian humanism of their times; they were also the pioneers of the practice of the best of the later English colonists. There is a colonial succession of Apostles, in which the best English colonisers enter into the continuity of the traditions of the best Spaniards.

As Hakluyt absorbed the Spanish tradition of the transference of the religious and educational advantages of his nation from East to West, his special occasion for expressing these views was in connexion with his joint project with Gilbert and Raleigh for the colonisation of Virginia. Nor did this religious aspect towards English "plantations"—so vivid to "Richard Hakluyt, Preacher"—fail to impress the later directors of the Virginian Plantation when the project had become realised. Nicholas Ferrar, the elder (1545-1620), master of the Skinners' Company, friend of Raleigh, Drake, and Hawkins, is not likely to have been unknown to Hakluyt, for "Ferrar was ever in the highest degree attentive to the planting of the Christian religion in the New World." His son, Nicholas, whilst actually travel-

ling in Spain, was called from that country in 1618, to take a share in the management of the Virginian Company, soon to be under the governorship of Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton. The younger Nicholas Ferrar, who was the founder of the religious community at Little Gidding, "piously advanced the Virginias and Bermudas plantation" (1618-24). The elder Ferrar, whilst living, gave two shares of land in Bermuda for the maintenance of a "free school," and also sent a great number of Bibles and Psalm-books for the children. He bequeathed £300 towards a college, for "ten young savages" and meantime "to bring up wild young infidels in some good course of life." This interest in the education of natives in the plantations not only permeated colonisers, but also the English stay-at-homes. Eventually the Hon. Robert Boyle organised the sympathisers* with the religious training of natives on the plantations, by the establishment of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel (1661). The English origins of these endeavours for the good of natives, therefore, are clearly to be traced back to Hakluyt, and he, in his turn, had found that similar activities had been at work in the Spanish-American settlements.

* The kind of educational energy and the splendid religious spirit of an English pioneer-minister is to be gathered from the remarkable *Indian Primer, or Way of Training up of an Indian Youth in the True Knowledge of God and in an Ability to Read,* by John Eliot (1669), reprinted with Introduction by John Small. Edinburgh, 1877.

CHAPTER VI

THE SPONSORS OF HAKLUYT'S BOOK

IN the second edition of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* are included certain "Panegyrick Verses on The Author and his Book." Hugh Broughton, an Elizabethan scholar, renowned for his knowledge of the Hebrew language, composes ten lines of Greek in verse form. Richard Mulcaster, himself known in his student days as also a Hebrew and Oriental scholar, chooses to write two Latin poems. William Camden composes a Latin poem of six lines. Marc Antonio Pigafetta, a gentleman of Vicenza, in Italy, contributes a sonnet in Italian—all in appreciation of, and in sympathy with, the great work done by Hakluyt. Broughton, Mulcaster, Camden, and Pigafetta—these were the introducers, the sponsors, if indeed any were needed, for Richard Hakluyt's great work. It is mainly, perhaps entirely, a list of teachers. Mulcaster, an advocate of the training of teachers, and the advocate of the school teaching of drawing, here directly identifies himself with enthusiasm for the aims of Hakluyt, as a developer of the history of geographical discovery. Broughton is a pioneer in the teaching in England of Hebrew and Oriental languages. William Camden, Head-

master of Westminster School, was at the head of English schoolmasters, with the possible exception of Mulcaster himself.

But the remarkable characteristic common to Mulcaster, Broughton, Camden, and Hakluyt (to confine ourselves to the Englishmen named) is that they are all classical scholars. The progressive element in educational and practical affairs, so far from being hindered, was stimulated by the classical training all of them had received.

Mulcaster, the classical and Oriental scholar, however, is the pronounced advocate of the teaching of mathematics. He is the pioneer in England of the demand for the teaching of drawing in elementary education. William Camden is the determined protagonist of researches into the antiquities, history, and geography of Britain.

The common feature in all these writers—Hakluyt, Mulcaster, Camden—is to apply classical knowledge, and particularly classical methods of inquiry and research, to national uses and to the national glory. The basis of the literature inciting to British patriotism in the Elizabethan era was fixed securely enough on experience in the methods of study in Latin and Greek. Camden established the study of British antiquities, the search for origins in the past—*i.e.*, the application of the methods of classical investigators. And, again, the method was similar to that of Froissart, Comines, Monstrelet, in history, which, in its turn, in important aspects, had been

based on the methods of classical research. But in England classical methods were applied to the investigation of the great antiquity claimed for Britain, as noteworthy as (or claimed even as prior to) that of Rome itself. There were chroniclers of England, such as Hall, Holinshed, and Stow. John Speed, too, had worked at his beautiful maps, and later, published his *History of Great Britain* (1611). Christopher Saxton had surveyed for, and had drawn a map of, every county in England in 1579. It was an age of laborious compilations. It was from such sources and examples Hakluyt drew inspiration for what he himself calls his "burden" of collections. But the original models and prototypes were the great classical works of apparatus and collections of the great Renascence humanists.

And, once more, let us remember that the more direct and immediate inspiration in models of authorship and materials for compilation of history as to seamen, before Hakluyt began his task, were the great sea-histories of the Spanish chroniclers.

Richard Eden, as we have seen, had translated the *New World* of Peter Martyr Anglerius in 1555. The original work in Latin had been published, in 1516, under the title of *de Orbo Novo* and commonly known as the *Decades*, at Alcalá, the birthplace of Queen Catharine of Aragon, who brought with her so much of the atmosphere of the Spanish Renascence, of the Court of her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella. Whether we look to English or to Spanish models,

they were all themselves originally based on the vast compilations which had been produced in elucidation of the rediscovery and description of classical antiquity in the Renascence. How closely associated all important historical investigation was believed to be with the classical atmosphere, may be judged by the reference of Dr. George Hakewill, who, in his *Power and Providence of God* (1627), criticising the very ground of our modern admiration that Hakluyt wrote in English, says: "It were to be wished as well for the honour of the English name, as well as the benefit that might thereby redound to other nations, that Hakluyt's *Collections and Relations* had been written in Latin." Nevertheless, Hakewill was one of the progressive men of his age, and welcomed warmly Hakluyt's "honest motion" for a Lectureship in Navigation in London.

The criticism as to not writing in Latin would apply to others besides Hakluyt, who went far afield for their material, such as Richard Knolles in his *History of the Turks* (1603), and particularly Sir Walter Raleigh in his *History of the World* (1614).

The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries did for collections of historical documents what Hakluyt did, almost single-handed, for geography. All were working in the same spirit of belief in their country, and the transference of the idea of any classical golden age to a similar golden age in England, as old and reputable as any other, but one which, so far from being effete, in their belief, was reaching for-

ward to its manhood of glory in their own day. This is the school of patriot writers to which Hakluyt really belongs, and accordingly he begins his accounts of English voyages with King Arthur in A.D. 507.

This group of classically trained collectionists in all directions that would redound to the national credit and glory contains a considerable contingent of schoolmasters besides Camden and Mulcaster. Philemon Holland was headmaster of Coventry Grammar School. John Florio, who collected the words for an Italian dictionary, was a "master of languages." Richard Knolles was headmaster of Sandwich Grammar School. Thomas Cooper had been headmaster of Magdalen College School, Oxford. Francis Meres, who collected the names of his contemporary authors, had taught school at Wing, and, like Hakluyt, translated from the Spanish. Pierre Erondelle, one of Hakluyt's collaborateurs for French sea-travels, taught as French visiting master.

The point to be noted is that, though classicists and schoolmasters, they were the active disseminators of the progressive knowledge of their time. Moreover, there is the spirit of the age, over and above any indebtedness to classicism or even to Spain, in the statement of Hakluyt's appeal for the educational training of seamen:

"Seamen,' he said, "are not bred up to perfection of skill in much less time than in the time of two 'prenticeships; and since no kind of men of any profession in the commonwealth pass their years in so great and continual hazard of life; and

since of so many, so few grow to grey hairs; how needful it is, that by way of lectures and suchlike instructions, these ought to have a better education than hitherto they have had; all wise men may easily judge."

His appeal is reinforced by what one would have thought to be an irresistible plea:

"When I call to mind, how many noble ships have been lost, how many worthy persons have been drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realm hath been impoverished by loss of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our sea-men, I have greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this City [of London] for the banishing of our former gross ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and general multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so general a desire in the youth of this Realm to discover all ports on the face of the earth, to this Realm in former ages not known."

Similarly partaking of the new Elizabethan educational spirit, is much that is contained in the writings of Hakluyt's sponsor, Richard Mulcaster—at one time headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, and afterwards of St. Paul's School. In his *Positions* (1581), he pleaded for a College for Mathematics, in which he wished, amongst others, "shipmasters" and "mariners" might study: so that therein he is on common ground with Hakluyt, who regards mathematics and astronomy as basal sciences for navigation. Like Hakluyt, he uses the term "reader," for the teachers who are to be provided, in "great allowance," "to make their haven there [*i.e.*, in or near London], where ye mean to use them."

From the historical aspect it must be pointed out

that Mulcaster's *Positions* was published in 1581, and Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (first volume of the second edition, from which the above passages on the training of the seamen were taken) appeared in 1598.

As Hakluyt is the first advocate of the training of the English seamen, and the promotion of seamanship into a profession, Mulcaster is similarly the first advocate of a training-college for teachers, and the raising of the teachers into a profession, parallel with the divines, lawyers, and physicians.

Mulcaster's arguments are not dissimilar to those of Hakluyt. "Ships are to little purpose without skilful sea-men," says Hakluyt. So with Mulcaster, teachers without skill will "mangle" their work, and be but "meddlers." Each is impressed with the importance of the training of the men concerned. Hakluyt points out the drowning of incompetent sailors, and the loss of goods entailed by ignorance. Mulcaster asks: "Is the framing of young minds and the training of their bodies so mean a point of cunning?"

Both Hakluyt and Mulcaster have firmly grasped the idea of the value of preliminary professional training. Both, it may be noted, were unsuccessful in their efforts to secure such training—the one for seamen and the other for teachers. The two men were further united by the main aim of their public endeavours.

Hakluyt advocates the instruction of seamen "with

severe and strait discipline," and declares that "if this one thing [training] be added, I assure myself it will turn to the infinite wealth and honour of our country, to the prosperous and speedy discovery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet unknown, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoicing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes." Mulcaster's spirit of patriotism has something of the intensive quality of that of Hakluyt. One of the reforms he advocated, to help forward the task of training the teachers and teaching in the schools, was the use of English instead of Latin as the medium of instruction. The unreserved admiration of Hakluyt for Elizabethan navigators is paralleled by Mulcaster's appreciation of the use of English by Elizabethan writers: "Whatsoever shall become of the English State [this was written in 1582, before the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and before the publication of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's plays], the English tongue cannot prove fairer than it is at this day. . . . I take this present period of our English tongue to be the very height thereof."

Love of England was the inspiring motive of both Hakluyt and Mulcaster. They were both Empire-builders—the one by his devotion to the history of the romance of the sea, and his preaching of the sailor's spirit of daring courage as a national characteristic; the other by his deep-rooted attachment to

the English language (though he used it so badly himself), for it was to be an essential basis of the unity of England and her colonies, when Hakluyt's vision of a Greater Britain became a reality.

We have seen that Hakluyt believed in the teaching of the subjects mathematics, astronomy, cosmography. It would be interesting to know if Mulcaster, as an educationist, was in any way inclined towards geography-teaching. Mr. R. H. Quick says it is remarkable that a schoolmaster noted for his classical attainments before the last decade of the fifteen hundreds should have urged the literary use of the mother tongue. Yet he points out that Mulcaster, scholar though he was, was not in bondage to scholarship. The fact is that Mulcaster, like Hakluyt, was essentially active in temperament, and advocated new lines of practical activities. This would lead us to expect that the circle of Hakluyt's friends in active life would have some common segment with the circles of Mulcaster's friends. Thus, Mulcaster, like Hakluyt, was a correspondent of Sir Philip Sidney. So, too, both Hakluyt and Mulcaster were correspondents of the great geographer and cartographer, Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp, who, in his great Atlas, gives indications of such vast geographical knowledge. Hakluyt wrote at least one letter to Ortelius, sending suggestions for a reform in the drawing of maps. So, too, there is extant one letter of Mulcaster to the same Ortelius. It was written April 24, 1581, when Mulcaster was compos-

ing his *Elementarie*, published in 1582. Mulcaster was convinced that the earliest stages of education should include the teaching of drawing quite as reasonably as that they should include reading and writing. He therefore wrote to Ortelius, to ask if he knew of any writer who had treated on the training of boys in drawing, at the elementary stage, connecting his method of teaching the subject with the inner principles of geometry. He asks Ortelius to purchase for him at Antwerp (if possible) Dürer's book on the teaching of geometry. He begs for any clear published methods of teaching drawing or any practical suggestions from Ortelius himself.

This letter does not, indeed, disclose any concern on the part of Mulcaster for geographical teaching, but it certainly reveals an early interest in a subject which Hakluyt's own letters to Ortelius show that the latter recognised as necessary for the student of navigation, in that college which he tried to get the Elizabethan leaders of commercial and educational progress to establish. This subject of drawing we may describe as more than a half-way house to that of geography. Hakluyt wrote to Ortelius to suggest improvements in certain points of map construction. Mulcaster and Hakluyt, therefore, met on the common ground of the necessity of good teaching of drawing.

Let us now follow the verses Mulcaster wrote in praise of Hakluyt. The first of Mulcaster's Latin poems is headed: "On the Naval Commentaries [*i.e.*,

the *Principall Navigations*] of Richard Hakluyt," of which the following is an English summary:

"England," it begins, is the "prolific mother of great events, whether you ponder over what is famous on land or on sea, wherever, in fact, she has taken up arms and waged war, at home or abroad. All great English events have been celebrated in many volumes, maturely achieved; so great is the material for great praise, from this island, itself so small. But it is the glory of Hakluyt alone to have shown with lavish pen to his fellow-countrymen what has been dared on the high seas. He has described the different shores so vast in number and so varied in kind, to which the fleet of our ships has made its way, spreading itself in all directions and boldly trusting to the unknown. Whatsoever the English nation has accomplished, in swift ships in despite of the threatenings of the ocean, he has described right back from the beginnings and the first origin of our nation, wherever any way could be opened through the waves for voyages bringing glory and renown; whether the object was to clip the wings of an enemy, or joyfully to open the path of wealth to their own country. This is the story of Hakluyt's book; to whom the fatherland owes much; much is indeed owing to him from all who love this country."

Not satisfied with one set of verses, Mulcaster supplied a further set. He asks if so great praise is awarded to the singer of the deeds of Jason and his companions for their wonderful voyage in the *Argo*,

a single ship, how great glory remains for Richard Hakluyt, whose skill has described a thousand seas, and a thousand swift vessels, embarking from our island, yet sailing through all the places of the immeasurable world? Directly addressing his lines to Hakluyt, he says:

"Thou wilt receive the thanks of thy country, which will be for ever mindful of thy praiseworthy industry. All thy devotion to it will travel forth over the whole earth. Thou wilt teach us to cherish with all zeal, our ships of oak and our hearts of oak, and, in the strength of these supports, whatsoever enemy shall harass violently our people, he will have to pay for it."

Mulcaster was an old Eton boy, who proceeded, as has been usual, to King's College, Cambridge. But before he had taken his degree at Cambridge, he migrated to Oxford. Mulcaster was an older man than Hakluyt; still, it is worth while recalling the fact that Hakluyt also had been a student of Christ Church, Oxford.

Antonio Pigafetta, another of the sponsors, represents the Earth itself as speaking and saying: "Unknown should I have been to myself, with little honour buried in the obscure old maps, if one of my sons had not now disclosed my splendour at great cost of skill and of money." It is true Ramusio had made manifest many parts of the surface of the globe, but Pigafetta affirms that Hakluyt has supplemented his accounts with "genuine disregard of weariness and of expense." Pigafetta wrote a book (in Italian, though published in London, 1585) entitled *Itinerario*,

giving an account of a journey from Vienna to Constantinople. In his preface he mentions that he would have destroyed his manuscript or at least kept it "private" (through a feeling of shyness which almost made him desperate), had it not been that he was "exhorted, principally by Mr. Richard Hakluyt, a young man (*giovane*) endowed with a kind and noble mind."

Besides Pigafetta, the other introducers in verse, of Hakluyt, are Hugh Broughton and William Camden, the antiquary. Broughton, who was one of the most learned Hebraists, as we have already mentioned, wrote Greek verses in honour of Hakluyt.

William Camden was probably about a year or two older than Hakluyt. He, too, had been at Christ Church, Oxford. Camden's Latin lines are inscribed, "To that uncommon work of Richard Hakluyt concerning Navigations to the lands furthest removed from us," and may be rendered:

> "England, till now shut off from all the earth,
> Has led its own small life within its narrow girth.
> But now she has the distant countries found,
> High praise will lands, both great and small, propound.
> And what should Earth of Hakluyt's story say?
> All Earth,—no less,—its mead to him will pay."

A passage from Mulcaster's *Elementarie* will show how the sea-stories and geography which absorbed Hakluyt had their direct influence also on the linguistic studies of Mulcaster:

"If the spreading sea and the spacious land could use any speech, they would both show you where, and in how many strange places, they have seen our people, and also given you to wit that they dealt in as much and as great variety of matters as any other people do, which is the reason why our tongue doth serve to so many uses, because it is conversant with so many matters, in so sundry kinds of dealings. Now all this variety of matters and diversity of trade make both matter for our speech and means to enlarge it."

No passage could better illustrate the underlying unity of spirit of Hakluyt and Mulcaster.

CHAPTER VII

CONTENTS OF "THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS"

In the collecting of these records of the English nation, Hakluyt combines the characteristics of the historian, weighing and judging as to the inclusion or exclusion, in whole or in part, of each documentary memorial of the past as it comes before him. He was a literary man in his desire to make his book worthy of the subject he has in hand. He was a propagandist in putting forward his ideas as to the basis of maritime progress, with such weight of appeal that they might carry conviction in others capable of effectively achieving results. Lastly, there is in Hakluyt a good deal of the journalist at his best. We might say that Hakluyt made himself master of the art of interviewing, and that, on the large scale, he is the first to incorporate the results of this method of collection of material into a permanent literary undertaking. He is not on the look-out for the æsthetic aspects of sea-charm. He is entirely free from subjective rumination; he has little or no use for psychological disquisitions in himself or in others. In other words, he is objective, and duly expects that every seaman will be the same.

There is something almost stoical in Hakluyt's

own personal self-repression, and in that attitude just described towards the subjects of his interviews. But, on the other hand, there was an unbounded self-expansion in his love towards his country, writing as he did, just after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The power in reserve which maritime stored-up tradition and experience could show, though, no doubt, in the background of the mind of England, was as yet so inarticulate, on the subject of England's conquest of the sea, through the centuries. But especially in Hakluyt's own age this subject-matter was precisely what was wanted to give form and reality to that "study of imagination" which the sense of delivery from Spain's mighty Armada produced throughout the community.

The seafaring adventurers and discoverers were gentlemen by birth, educated in our grammar schools, and with more or less classical education, and without financial need to go down to seek their business in great waters, and to face the dangers of the deep. They went because of the need to satisfy their own energy. They sought special and specific training in mathematics, in astronomy (to direct their ships by the study of the movements of the constellations, and by the use of the compass), and in the mathematical basis of navigation. The recognition of the importance of the provision of this knowledge caused Sir Thomas Smith, merchant (and, on its establishment, Governor of the East India Company), living in Gracechurch Street, in London, to secure

the mathematician, Thomas Hood, to come to his house and give instruction to these adventurous navigators. These lectures, delivered in 1582, were at first delivered in the Staples Chapel, Leadenhall Street, and afterwards at the house in Gracechurch Street of Sir Thomas Smith, "the life and soul of English commercial enterprise of the time" and the friend of Hakluyt. So, too, was the lecturer Hood. We cannot doubt the keen interest taken privately in this development, so much in line with Hakluyt's vigorous appeal for a public institution of a similar but more extended character.

The navy has become, in modern times, the highly popular service. In the Elizabethan times, the great seamen were largely representative of aristocratic or county families. Devonshire was particularly to the front. Nathaniel Carpenter, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, in 1625, wrote eloquently of the gentlemen-adventurers of his native country:

"Who hath not known or read of that prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir Walter Raleigh, a man unfortunate in nothing else but the greatness of his wit and advancement? . . . Who reads not without admiration of the acts of Sir Francis Drake, who thought the circuit of this earthly globe too little for his generous and magnanimous ambition? Of Sir Richard Grenville, who with an undaunted spirit made his honour legible in the wounds of the proud Spaniard; and at last triumphed more in his own honourable death, than the other in his base conquest? Of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Richard Hawkins, John Davis, Martin Frobisher and William Parker with many others of worth, note and estimation, whose names live with the Ocean?"

Already by 1625, Carpenter is laying emphasis on "whoever *reads*." All these names are treasured up in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. It is there that the reader of Carpenter's time, and ever after, will find the records brought together with such loving care.

These comprehensive accounts of Hakluyt have filtered down into compressed reproductions which have made such names and reputations as the above household words, almost the same as quotations from Shakespeare have permeated into our common speech. For there has been a certain *status* of leadership in the writings of Hakluyt which has drawn the whole nation along with it, in the recognition of Hakluyt's heroes. Until recently, in the form of selections and extracts, Hakluyt's book could not be said to be popular. It belonged to a class which old second-hand booksellers used to call "gentlemen's books." They were commonly published in large volumes (folio size) and necessarily expensive, so that their price made a restriction as to the possibilities of large circulation. But those who had read such books often proved literary leaders, even more than the professional critics, and passed on not only general impressions, but also spread throughout the community incidents and stories, and detail of reminiscences, which have made the indirect promulgation of tradition a secondary influence of Hakluyt, out of all proportion even to the number of his actual readers.

For such names as those of Raleigh, Drake,

Grenville, Gilbert, Hawkins, Davis, Frobisher, and Parker—great as they are, and a wonderful group for one county or even one country to claim—are only a selection from Hakluyt's list of adventurers and navigators. Amongst the English voyages, he tells the stories of a host of other contemporaries, such as Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Anthony Jenkinson, Thomas Candish, the Earl of Cumberland, Peter Pet, Charles Jackman, Sir John Burrough, Sir John Norris, Stephen Borough, Laurence Aldersey, and many others, who, if less known, are not less noteworthy. Then there are the pre-Elizabethan English seamen, and, as we have seen, the Spanish navigators, and other seamen, French and Italian, who are not forgotten. Particularly he gathered every detail about those who broke through the icy regions, Newfoundland, Labrador, and the northern Arctic Seas. Indeed, he dealt faithfully with all the New World of Discovery. Hakluyt, too, made known the English voyages to Russia, and the earliest relations of our country with it. He saw the prospects in trade with Japan and with China. He recognised the start which the Spanish peninsula had won, under the naval leadership of Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Cabral, Ponce de Leon, Balboa, de Soto, and others. But he believed with all his heart that the Spanish "first attempts" at discoveries across the Atlantic, in South and North America, were "no whit more difficult and dangerous than ours to the North-East," though they came later.

The contents of *The Principall Navigations* are encyclopædic. The work contains accounts of sea-adventures of all kinds in the past and present—legendary voyages, pilgrimages, crusades, stories of shipwreck. It also gives details of use for navigation and for commerce. It affords descriptions of the marvellous wonders of the New World. Hakluyt collects matters of anthropology, of botany and zoology, and, brought up on classical training, he is delighted to produce material for comparative philology from the new countries.

One indication of the completeness of Hakluyt's inquiries is that the fine edition of his *Principall Navigations*, published by Messrs. MacLehose of Glasgow, in twelve volumes, in 1905, contains an index entirely devoted to *names of ships** spoken of in the book.

Only can the most general statement be made of the multitudinous contents of Hakluyt's great book. The second edition (1598-1600) is in three folio volumes. The first volume contains historical accounts of English navigation through the centuries, including the discoveries of the English towards the North and North-East by sea to Russia, the Caspian Sea, and the overland East, through Asia; and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The second volume takes the reader through the expeditions

* It may be mentioned that in Mr. John Masefield's Introduction to the *Everyman* edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages* an interesting short account is given of the Elizabethan sailor and the Elizabethan ship.

opening up the Mediterranean to trade, reaching to Jerusalem, Armenia, to the Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, the Ganges, Goa, Siberia, and China. Outside of the Mediterranean it includes the Azores, Canaries, Sierra Leone, Cape of Good Hope, Mozambique to Nicobar and Malacca. This leaves the whole of the third volume for America, including Labrador, Newfoundland, the St. Lawrence, Virginia and Florida, New Mexico, and California. Then come the voyages to the West India Islands, to the coasts of New Spain and Guiana, Brazil, the Plate, and through the Straits of Magellan and all the western side of both South and North America. Hakluyt adds an account of the two voyages of Francis Drake and Thomas Candish "round about the circumference of the whole earth."

CHAPTER VIII

RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER

HAKLUYT'S vast industry not only included what was involved in the historical investigation of the English voyages up to the sixteenth century, for which, indeed, he found his documents "miserably scattered in mustie corners and retchlessly (*i.e.*, recklessly) hidden in mistie darkness." But even the accounts of the recent voyages in his own times were only obtained by unfailing determination and indefatigable labour.

It is evident that he must have been a familiar figure in all the haunts of seamen, at Wapping and at Ratcliffe.

For Hakluyt all mariners have the "glittering eye," and all their stories "he cannot choose but hear." As prebendary in the Bristol Cathedral, he had there his "lodging and chambers," with "sundry implements, hangings, and furniture." No doubt he knew many of the London taverns, and there met great travellers and encouragers of travel, and the chief dramatists and literary men of the age. The question has been raised whether Hakluyt and Shakespeare were acquainted. Judging by probabilities, it is likely that in a city of some 100,000 or

125,000 inhabitants, such as London then was, the most active thinkers and writers were frequently, by chance or purpose, in one another's company. It is known that Samuel Purchas, the Rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, London, was a frequenter of the Mermaid Tavern, at the gatherings of the literary men which took place the first Friday of every month.

Amongst those who are specifically known as attenders of the meetings at the Mermaid were John Donne, the poet; Ben Jonson, the dramatist; Inigo Jones, the architect; and a goodly company of lawyers of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn, as well as of "stationers" or publishers. The very name Mermaid Tavern suggests a seafarer's atmosphere.

Purchas is especially connected with Hakluyt from the fact that he obtained possession of the large amount of manuscript material which Hakluyt had gathered together over and above what appears in *The Principall Navigations*. He used it in the work known as *Hakluytus Posthumus*, or *Purchas, his Pilgrimes* (1625). If Purchas thus moved amongst some of the best literary people of London, there can be little doubt that these circles would be open, a little earlier in date, to Richard Hakluyt, who would be sure to use his opportunities in so far as they provided access to new material in sea-story.

Not content with working at full pressure himself, he set others on work to record or to translate the records of discoveries. One such example was that of Pierre Erondelle, who translated, on the

initiative of Hakluyt, a French history of Nova Francia. Erondelle was a Huguenot refugee, a language teacher. To Pigafetta, the Italian, I have already alluded. Not only did Hakluyt thus encourage Englishmen and foreigners in his own line of studies, but he also made preparations for the continuance of his work should he himself be unable to finish what he had in hand. "Long since I did foresee that my profession of divinity, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kind of endeavours." For instance, from 1597 onwards, Hakluyt had "encouraged" John Pory, "one of extraordinary hope to perform great matters," in the study of cosmography.

Men like Emery and Molyneux drew up maps under Hakluyt's suggestion, and the mathematical men like Edward Wright and Thomas Blundeville also were associated with Hakluyt. Another better-known man, Dr. Dee, the alchemist and "sorcerer," was a friend of Hakluyt. John Dee has not received his due as a patriotic Englishman. He held that Britain must be "Lord of the Sea," to employ wits at home, to carry commodities to markets abroad, and to help the cause of justice and peace generally. He was no ordinary man who could urge in the days of the hatred of Spain: "We must keep our own hands and hearts from doing or intending injury to any foreigner on sea and land."

Hakluyt's friends included substantially the best of the Elizabethan geographers, mathematicians,

map-makers, engravers, commercial men, and not a few of the literary men. He reminds us of Samuel Hartlib, in the days of the Commonwealth, who devoted so much energy "to watch for the opportunities of provoking others" to write on the subjects which engrossed him. "Everyone knew Hartlib." So, too, in the Elizabethan age everyone knew Hakluyt. What impressed his contemporaries more than all his accomplishments as a linguist and even as a cosmographer was "the zeal he beareth to his country and his countrymen."

In all his activities it is evident that London was Hakluyt's headquarters. His "profession was divinity." He was Rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, from 1590 onwards, and of Gedney, in Lincolnshire, from 1612. Undoubtedly, he was a pluralist in his benefices; he clearly must have been a non-resident clergyman. To Wetheringsett, he was appointed by Dame Douglas Stafford, the owner of the manor of Wetheringsett, second wife of Sir Edward Stafford, under whom Hakluyt had served as chaplain at Paris, and he held the living apparently till his death in 1616, when he was succeeded by William Withers. The only reference in the registers is to the burial of Douglas Hakluyt, his wife (curiously, the same Christian name as that of Lady Stafford), on August 7, 1597, which goes to show that the family resided at Wetheringsett. Mr. Winter Jones thought that Hakluyt's marriage took place in or about 1594.

Hakluyt's life must have been largely a London life. His second wife was Frances Smith, of the parish of St. Laurence Jewry (widow of William Smith, of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, of the age of fifty years). The date of the marriage was March 30, 1604. Hakluyt signed himself as at that time a chaplain of the Savoy, and as fifty-two years of age. Besides being Prebendary of Bristol, he was also Prebendary and Archdeacon of Westminster, as well as holding the living of Wetheringsett. In his will he says: "I have a table, a bedstead, and certain furniture of hangings, pictures, and other implements in a chamber belonging to me in the Savoy." He gives them to the College of Westminster, for the dormitory, and it should be added that he allocates his Bristol belongings to the Westminster College, "to be disposed at the discretion of the right worshipful Mr. Dean."

Hakluyt, then, kept a chamber in the Savoy, and this seems to have served him for bachelor life in London, whilst he led his family life at Wetheringsett, for he describes himself as "Richard Hakluit, parson of Wetheringsett, in the county of Suffolk." Hakluyt had three brothers, Thomas, Oliver, and Edmund. His only son was Edmund, to whom he left his manor, Bridge Place, in Suffolk, half-way between Wetheringsett and Ipswich (with all royalties, prerogatives, profits, and advantages; with all the lands, meadows, pastures, woods, underwoods, etc.), "as I lately purchased the same of Mr. John

Scrivener, late of Barbican, in the suburbs of the City of London." He bequeathed to his son, also, the property at Leominster, demised to himself, from his brother Oliver Hakluyt for 16 nobles a year. Oliver Hakluyt was a successful physician. Hakluyt had also purchased property at the north-west end of Tothill Street, in Westminster, which, subject to certain conditions, he bequeathed to his wife Frances. He leaves sums for the sons and the daughter of his brother Oliver; to his sister Katherine Morer, dwelling in Holborn, and her son and her daughter. He leaves a sum for a funeral sermon, desiring Mr. Edward Rigges to preach it. To his curate apparently at Wetheringsett, he leaves 10s. and his old gown; and to three servants, one 10s., another 5s., and a third, a woman, 3s. 4d. To the townsmen of Wetheringsett and Brockford (Blochford) he leaves 5 marks for distribution to the poor. Others remembered are his cousin, Thomas Hackluit (*sic*), his sister Catherine, his cousin, Mrs. Dorothy Patrickson, and her son. To Michael Lok, the traveller's son, 10s. *This is the only bequest which, in any way, recalls Hakluyt's interest in sea-records and sea-travel.* To the old headmaster of Westminster School, Richard Ireland, and to the new master, Mr. Wilson, he bequeaths 10s. as "a token of my love and goodwill towards them."

Hakluyt, therefore, though he feared that "the care of his family" might take him from his geographical labours, left them very well off. Unfor-

tunately, it appears that the son squandered the estate left him by his father.*

Why Hakluyt signed himself "Preacher," is not explained. It may have been simply to distinguish himself from his cousin, Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle Temple. In his will, we have seen, he described himself as "Parson." There had been great trouble, earlier in Queen Elizabeth's reign, as to whether "preachers" and preaching were to be tolerated in the Church. Archbishop Grindal had written his famous letter in 1576, refusing to suppress preachers, and demanding the right to appoint them. The Archbishop declares that he and his bishops have "allowed none to preach but men of piety, learning and good judgment;" Hakluyt deliberately chose, though more than twenty years later, the term which had been under the ban of the Queen. The term had won its way, as the sign and seal of the man who was "better learned" and could do much more than perfunctorily go through the services. It is unfortunate, since Hakluyt attaches such emphasis to his title Preacher, that there is no known specimen of his sermons extant.

This was the period, in the theological developments, of "bodies of divinity," vast compilations of the whole scheme of salvation and of ecclesiastical solidarity, in which the attempt was made to gather together in a single volume "the marrow of all that

* Apparently Edmund entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1611, was admitted B.A. 1615-16, and M.A. 1619.

was accounted of vital significance, written by theologians throughout the centuries." Similarly, Hakluyt recognised his task as "to incorporate into *one body* the torn and shattered limbs of our ancient and late navigations by sea."

Whatever significance is implied to the "Preacher" aspect of Hakluyt, it must not be one which would presuppose that he was unpractical. He has got his foot firmly set upon the earth, and in the due performance of all that is necessary to turn his knowledge to the best practical account. "It was utility," says Professor Sir Walter Raleigh, "that he valued; more than the themes of lovers of elegant prose, he would have esteemed the profits of the East India Company, which . . . according to Sir Thomas Smith, were increased by twenty thousand pounds, through a careful study of the *Navigations*."

So we find that in his suggestions Hakluyt is eminently practical. In his earliest writings he included notes in writing for "enterprises of discovery" as to harbours, fish, purchase of cloth by savages, merchandise, "*things to be carried with you*," maps, books, tools, and so on. These hints he had gathered from others, and he kept adding to them and making them more and more widely known.

Quite apart from these minutiæ of direct helpfulness in maritime matters, and quite apart from the utilitarian aims which he saw could be turned to the high uses of his country, his practical genius was particularly manifested in what we may call his

seminal ideas in maritime education and in commerce. Educationally, for instance, he showed the importance of the principle of technical instruction by his incessant advocacy of the due provision for communicating all ascertained knowledge underlying seamanship. In his practical precautions which he would wish to see discoverers and seamen take, he had intended to include a treatise, which he had by him in manuscript: *The Curing of Hot Diseases Incident to Travellers in Long and Southern Voyages*, by Mr. George Watson. He showed this to none other than Dr. William Gilbert, who in the very same year, 1600, published his *De Magnete*, the outcome of vast and long-continued research. Gilbert informed Hakluyt that Watson's tractate was defective, and hinted that he would himself write something sounder "or would confer with the whole College of Physicians, and set down some order by common consent." Hakluyt's mind, once aroused, did not stop at this point. He urged that "those in authority" should request the same physicians to add their judgments also for the cure of diseases "incident unto men employed in *cold* regions."

His whole work breathes forth the suggestion, which has not in any age as yet come to full fruit—viz., that true patriotism and love of one's country is reinforced enormously by a sound and accurate knowledge of the geographical background which the greatest heroes of our race have made their own in

the past, and in the present in their country's service at home and abroad. Lastly, his whole work, again, contains intrinsically the solid basis of the idea—Hakluyt's great discovery to the English people—of the value of the study of modern geography. Yet Sir Clements R. Markham has told us that after the death of Hakluyt no great English geographer appeared till Major Rennell (1742-1830), after whose death the Royal Geographical Society was founded.

But if Hakluyt is thus distinguished by his keen desire for utility and for practical and seminal educational ideas, yet even in maritime enterprise and in commerce, he was permeated by the sense of religious sanction and religious stimulus, which makes the title of Preacher not inappropriate even in the literal sense.

In the dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, in Hakluyt's translation of *Four Voyages made by certain French Captains into Florida*, Hakluyt lays bare his insight into the motives for maritime enterprise:

"Sundry men entering into these discoveries propose unto themselves several ends. Some seek authority and places of commandment, others experience by seeing of the world; the most part worldly and transitory gain, and that oftentimes by dishonest and unlawful means; the fewest number *the glory of God, and the saving of the souls of the poor and blinded infidels.*"

Thus we see that Hakluyt was under no illusions as to the self-seeking motives often prevalent. But

he goes on (this is in the year 1587, the year before his return from his chaplaincy at Paris), in addressing his epistle to Sir Walter Raleigh:

"But because divers honest and well-disposed persons are entered already into this your business, and that I know you mean hereafter to send some such good Churchmen thither, as may truly say with the Apostle to the savages, 'We seek not yours, but you': I conceive great comfort of the success of this, your action, hoping that the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weakness, will bless the feeble foundations of your building. Only be you of a valiant courage, and faint not."

There we hear the voice of the Preacher in one of the main features of colonisation, as he conceived it.

CHAPTER IX

HAKLUYT AS PIONEER OF BRITISH COLONISATION

HAKLUYT came forward as the solver of the problem of the sixteenth century: How to apply and utilise the great maritime discoveries and expeditions of England in the New World? His answer was founded, in the first place, on the example and stimulus of Spain. Make a thorough-going record of what has actually taken place. Let all the English sea-efforts be clearly, and as a whole, visualised. Then the predominant position of our seamen will speak for itself. In this task Hakluyt is a leader in recording history, with a recognition of the work of other nations. He loves England more than any other country; infinitely more than Spain. But he admires the courage of seamen, even when they are Spaniards, and there are hints of appreciation even of the enemy—Spain, which go in the direction of an international outlook.

So, too, in the recognition of the institution of the Casa de Contratación, Hakluyt would fain see England approach the maritime equipment of Sevilla, and, if possible, surpass the efforts of Spain in technical naval instruction. But Hakluyt had still to face the ultimate problem: Given the records of English seamen; given even the guarantees for the continuance and development of English navigation

by competent instruction of the young mariners—to what use can such a great national marine be put? We have seen a portion of his answer—viz., to equip commercial expeditions.

Apart from trade considerations, there was no fear of the sea-enterprises sinking into a fruitless "nine days' wonder" after Hakluyt's colossal inspiration and industry. Hakluyt's enthusiasm rescued the subject from the narrow associations of mere greed. He identified the whole of our relations in "overseas" discovered lands and their nations, with conduct consistent with the glory of England. It was on principles of right and fair-dealing with nations (as he saw right and justice) that he advocated the settling of suitable overplus of the English population in the countries overseas, "plantations" as they were then called; "colonies" to use our term.

Priceless as is the value of *The Principall Navigations* of Hakluyt, still more remarkable is the statesmanlike mind which shaped the main lines of colonial policy, as far back as 1584, before the first State-colony of England was established. The protest was absolutely necessary, that new lands discovered were not to be regarded as so much opportunity for loot snatched from inferior races.

It must now be stated that in 1605, Hakluyt was prospectively appointed to the living of Jamestown in Virginia, but, whatever his reasons, he did not go to it. When the town was actually settled in

1607, Hakluyt passed on the duties to a curate, Robert Hunt, who has been spoken of in very high terms: "He bore with unfaltering courage and a sweet-hearted patience rarely equalled in the history of martyrdom the accumulated miseries of Jamestown, until he also perished in the general mortality."

Nevertheless, in 1584, twenty-one years earlier, Hakluyt had developed as the basis of a constructive colonial policy for England that "our true and sincere religion" would only justify itself by seeking the *good of the inferior races* to a greater extent even than was manifested by the Spaniards, whose nobility of purpose, where manifested, was, in its possibility of achievement, conditioned by the inferiority, as he regarded it, of their religion.

Never has English colonising been without witness to this humane motive, of considering the rights and the good of inferior races. Mistakes have been made; higher motives have succumbed to baser passions, but the humanitarian side of helpfulness to the weaker—the educative, the chivalric, the religious aspect—permeated "Richard Hakluyt, Preacher," and descended as a tradition through the long succession of the Ferrars, Henry Dunster, John Eliot, the Hon. Robert Boyle, William Penn. Here are the very words of Hakluyt, the pioneer in this matter:

"The means to send such as shall labour effectually in this business is by planting one or two colonies of our nation upon the mainland where they may remain in safety, and first learn

the language of the people near adjoining (the gift of tongues being now taken away) and by little and little acquaint themselves with their manners,* and so with discretion and mildness distil into their purged minds the sweet and lively liquor of the Gospel."

To Richard Hakluyt came the vision in which he saw the full significance of the new discoveries over the seas. To what use could all the sea-adventures be eventually put? The problem was present in his mind before he wrote that monumental work. For the first form of his *Navigations* was published in 1589, and he wrote his *Discourse concerning Western Planting* in 1584. It is the one original book entirely written by himself (*i.e.*, apart from the use of other men's material). It is a matter on which we surely cannot be satisfied that, as the greatest colonising nation, this volume remained in manuscript from 1584 till 1877, when it was published by the Maine Historical Society in the United States of America, *and even yet has never been published in England.*

The *Discourse* was written "at the request and direction of the right worshipful Mr. Walter Raleigh, now Knight." In 1583, Humphrey Gilbert made the expedition to Newfoundland, on the return from which his ship was wrecked. We have seen that Hakluyt had contemplated joining in the ill-fated expedition, but, happily, had withdrawn. Hakluyt, it must be remembered, is directly associated with the first actual State-sanctioned colony beyond the seas,

* Hakluyt's cousin was of like opinion : "Nothing is more to be endeavoured with the inland people than familiarity."

in Virginia; for he was one of the men who successfully petitioned James I. for a patent for the colonisation of Virginia, which was carried into effect in 1607. With the *Navigations*, Hakluyt was thus a pioneer of colonisation. He was also the writer of the above-named remarkably able, statesmanlike *Discourse*, and that at the early age of about thirty.

Let us follow further the contents of this book, for any estimate of Hakluyt which does not take into account this long-hidden, and still little-known book, must be inadequate. The Virginia expedition, with a view to colonisation, of 1606-7 was mainly for commercial purposes. But in his *Discourse** Hakluyt points out that a plantation would provide "a safe and sure place to receive people from all parts of the world that are forced to flee for the truth of God's word." In the light of the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, this passage from Hakluyt, thirty-six years earlier, is both impressive and suggestive. Earlier, in 1597,† merchants promoting a colony on an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, agreed to take four sectaries "whose minds are continually in an ecclesiastical ferment," and probably this is the first fulfilment of the forecast of Hakluyt in the *Discourse*.

For the native peoples overseas Hakluyt again and again appeals. "The people of America cry out to us, their *next neighbours*, to come and help them,

* In the edition of the Maine Historical Society Publications (1877), p. 158.

† *State Papers* (Elizabeth), Domestic Series, cclvi., 56; and Arber: *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 107.

and bring unto them the glad tidings of the Gospel." And in another place he recalls the fact that they are only a voyage of six weeks away from us.* He pleads with the Queen, as Defender of the Faith, to give heed to the work of colonising. He refers to the wranglings of malcontents and sectaries, and urges that the clergy, who, "by reason of idleness are now always coining of new opinions," would find that by colonising voyages, "they had to set themselves on work in reducing the savages to the chief principles of our faith," and in that occupation, "will become less contentious, and be contented with the truth in religion already established by authority." Hakluyt, therefore, thinks that colonisation would be a remedy against the Martin Marprelate and other controversies, and a guarantee for the unity of all good English people in the acceptance of the one national Anglican Church.

He discusses the effect of colonisation upon the poor workers (in England):

"I dare affirm that if the poor people were five times as many as they be, yet all [these] might be set on work by working linen and such other things of merchandise as the trade with the Indies doth require."

The colony is a place of refuge:

"Many men of excellent wits and divers singular gifts, overthrown by suretyship, by sea, or by folly of youth, that are not able to live in England, may there be *raised again*."

* Chapter xii. of the *Discourse* is entitled: "The voyage easy and short and does not conflict with other countries."

Or again, in *Divers Voyages*, he said:

"If we would behold with the eye of pity how our prisons are pestered and filled with men able to serve their country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers (even twenty at a clap, out of one gaol at the last assizes at Rochester), we would hasten and further, every man to his power, the deducting [*i.e.*, conveying] of some colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America."

Hakluyt points to colonies as the fitting places of employment for soldiers at the end of the wars, and for "wandering beggars," whose work there will be to "the home and foreign benefit, and to their own more happy state."

Another argument, of special historical interest, seeing that the *Discourse* was written four years before the Spanish Armada of 1588, is that colonisation "will be for the increase, maintenance, and safety of our navy, and especially of great shipping, *which is the strength of our realm*, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depend on the same."

Thomas Fuller said that Hakluyt "sees his seamen bound for no other harbour but the port of Honour, though touching at the port of Profit in passage thereunto."

Hakluyt would send English criminals to the newfound lands, to employ them on sawing and felling of timber for masts of ships and deal boards; in burning of firs and pine trees to make pitch, tar, rosin, etc. He would have men labour on hemp for

cordage; at the mines for gold, silver, copper and iron. Others to drag for pearls and coral. Others to be engaged in planting of sugar-canes (as the Portugals, *i.e.*, the Portugese, have done in Madeira). Others to cultivate silk-worms for silk, and to prepare the raw material for cotton. Others to till the soil for grain; to cultivate vines for wine; olives for oil. Others were to cultivate fruits, oranges, lemons, almonds, figs; woad and madder for dyes (as the Portugals have done in Azores); raw hides; salt, to serve for the new-land fishing; in killing the whale, seal, porpoise, etc., for train oil. Then there are the fisheries, the salting and drying of ling, cod, salmon, herring. Other settlers were to be employed in producing honey, wax, turpentine, marble, jet, crystal, freestone for noble buildings at home; casks, oars, staves; building of forts, towns, churches; powdering and barrelling of fish, fowls, flesh, feathers.

Like Thomas More, Hakluyt believes the great social curse is connected with idleness. The mind almost reels before his catalogue of activities, when one recalls the smallness of the population of England at the time and the relatively small number who could be available for plantations. His own unmeasured industry he readily ascribes to everybody. And the scene of prosperity he describes with such zest is a vision of the future possibilities of colonisation, reading more like a description of Canada or Australia to-day.

In return for all these hard-won products,

England is to redouble her energies and offer in exchange the output of the work of cappers, knitters, clothiers, woolmen, carders, spinners, weavers, fullers, shearmen, dyers, drapers, hatters and such-like, "whereby many decayed towns may be repaired." Other occupations "will minister matter for all sorts and states of men to work upon"—*e.g.*, artificers, husbandmen, seamen, merchants, soldiers, captains, physicians, lawyers, divines, cosmographers, hydrographers, astronomers, historiographers—"yea, old folk, lame persons, women, and young children, which hereby shall be kept from idleness and be made, all by their own honest and easy labour, to find themselves, without surcharging others."

Such was the vision of things, spiritual and material, which Hakluyt saw as the direct outcome of England's sea-power. Colonisation was the solution which Hakluyt proposed to the problem: To what use should the sea-activities of England be put? The *Discourse* is the crowning glory of Hakluyt's ideas.

The essential merit of Hakluyt's view of colonisation is that it is based upon mutual services and benefits between the colonising country and the colonies, and, indeed, wherever practicable, between the colonists and the natives. The *Discourse* is a contribution not only to English social history, but to the history of human progress. Therefore, to-day, we ought to honour Hakluyt as the great English

presenter of sea-romance; as a great pioneer of colonisation; and, above all, as a lover of his country, who, perhaps, saw more into the possibilities before a noble British Empire than any Elizabethan. Not unfittingly, surely, he is buried in Westminster Abbey.

No man of his age saw more clearly than Hakluyt (and perhaps only Sir Walter Raleigh so clearly) the significance of the Elizabethan international sea-developments for the future of England. And yet, though he is, in vision, a prophet of English Empire-building, his spontaneity as a lover of noble sea-romance elsewhere as well as in connexion with his own beloved country attaches to him the touch of nature that makes the whole world kin.

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